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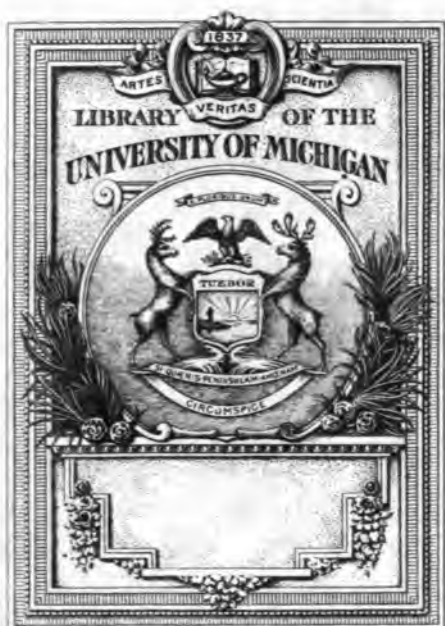
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1876

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Sprague - An Oration in







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AN
ORATION,

DELIVERED AT
SALEM,

ON THE
Fourth of July,
1810.

BY JOSEPH E. SPRAGUE.

"'TIS LIBERTY ALONE THAT GIVES THE FLOW'RS

"OF FLEETING LIFE ITS LUSTRE AND PERFUME."

COWPER.

PRINTED BY POOL AND PALFRAY;
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SALEM, JULY 5th, 1810.

SIR,

THE COMMITTEE OF ARRANGEMENTS present their unfeigned thanks to you for your elegant and spirited Oration, delivered before the Republicans on the **FOURTH DAY OF JULY** instant, and respectfully ask a copy for the Press.

In behalf of the Committee,

JOSEPH WINN.

JOSEPH E. SPRAGUE, Esq.

AN ORATION.

Friends and Fellow Citizens,

ILLUSTRIOUS actions and important revolutions have been commemorated by all nations with public celebrations and national festivals. The Birth Days of the Great and the eras of important events, have in all ages been consecrated with public games, the lays of minstrelsy, or the strains of eloquence. And at this day, in every civilized nation, some memorable event is celebrated with an annual public festival. It has been, in despotic governments, the policy of the sovereign, by increasing the number and pomp of public festivals, to enkindle in his subjects a veneration for his munificence, and a forgetfulness of their own servitude, and thus to lull the restless spirit of liberty. In free governments, public celebrations serve to excite a spirit of emulation. By extolling the deeds of valor and virtue, we direct that ambition into a beneficial channel, which, left to itself, would seek advancement by intrigue. They afford the fittest occasion to pay the tribute of gratitude to national benefactors ; to inculcate those maxims by which freedom is supported, and to point out the dangers which menace its destruction. The mind of man, soaring on the pinions of curiosity through the regions of hope, in pursuit of higher attainments and more exalted pleasures, loses sight of present enjoyments. National blessings, grown familiar, are forgotten, and their existence endangered. From this disposition to neglect whatever has not the stamp of novelty, arises the necessity that peculiar privileges should be frequently brought to view, and the dangers which threaten their destruction often pointed out.

Such, fellow-citizens, are the principles which should induce us to commemorate, with at least one annual celebration, the great, the peculiar, and preeminent liberties and blessings we enjoy. Let us then, my friends, on this

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hallowed anniversary of that Day which proclaimed us a Free, Sovereign, and Independent People, prostrate ourselves before Him in whose hands are the destinies of Nations ; and adore that Providence, which in a dark and eventful hour, led us safely through a perilous revolution, and enabled us in infancy to triumph over an ancient and powerful nation. May we, on every return of this auspicious day, swear at the Altar of Liberty, that we will live true to those principles which gave birth to our Independence :—That we will remember with gratitude, and bless with our latest breath, the Sages, the Patriots, and the Warriors, who conceived and effected that glorious Revolution which gave us a name and a standing among the nations of the Earth, and which freed us from a Tyrant who sought “to bind us in all cases whatsoever.”

That all men are born free and equal ; that they have the right to worship their Creator according to the dictates of their own consciences, and that governments were instituted for the benefit of the governed, are axioms which are not called in question in this country, altho’ practically contradicted by all other nations. A firm conviction of the truth of these maxims, and a fixed determination not to submit the modes of their belief to the regulations of the government, induced our ancestors to quit the fertile coasts of Britain, endeared to them as the place of their birth and the abode of their friends.—Rather than sacrifice their integrity and bend to the mandates of arbitrary power, they tore asunder the ties of society, friendship and country ; they abandoned their comfortable homes, in the dead of winter, and after traversing the tempestuous ocean, settled on the barren coast of Cape Cod. In a land of strangers, in a country of uncivilized barbarians, who sought every opportunity to sacrifice them to their cannibal appetites, our pious forefathers erected the Temple of Liberty.

The same spirited opposition to oppression which induced our ancestors to quit their pleasant homes and settle in a savage wilderness, descended uncontaminated and undiminished to their children, and discovered itself

in opposing the arbitrary edicts of the mother country. After the French war, in the middle of the last century, in which these provinces had exerted their utmost efforts to advance the projects of the mother country, instead of rewarding them like a kind parent with her favor for their exertions, she sought without their consent "to bind them, in all cases whatsoever." That spirit of liberty which had descended undiminished from sire to son, revolted at this arbitrary and oppressive proceeding. After the cup of reconciliation was exhausted, after humble petition on petition, and remonstrance after remonstrance was treated with contumely and contempt, the sages of the revolution, on the 4th of July, 1776, published to the world the Manifesto of Independence. This monument of human virtue, wisdom and valor, like its immortal author, the Sage of Monticello, and its illustrious defender, the Warrior of Mount-Vernon, will be regarded with veneration by the remotest ages. This Declaration, like a decree of Omnipotence, fired every bosom and nerved every arm. America rose in the majesty of her strength—she endured fatigue, want, and misery—she fought, she bled, and she conquered.

Our first duty, fellow citizens, on the return of this eventful day is to pay the tribute of our gratitude to the God of Battles, and the instruments of his providence in accomplishing the revolution. Let it not be said that the subject is trite and uninteresting. To those who venerate liberty, who prize the boon bought with the best blood of the country, the subject can never cease to be interesting, the repetition of the deeds of valor of that time can never prove tedious. The bosom that beats with a single pulse of affection for the rights of man will always throb with renewed pleasure at the recital of the valor that won our liberties—and the eye of every patriot will yield the ready tear of commiseration at the tale of persevering toil and suffering virtue by which our revolution was accomplished. Those to whom our freedom is hateful will receive no pleasure from the recital of the deeds of the revolution. Those who would have defeated its success will feel no commiseration for the suffer-

ing valor that atchieved it. Let us, fellow citizens, walk in fancy over the hallowed ground, consecrated by the blood of Patriotism. We first see our raw and undisciplined militia, fired by a holy zeal for liberty on the plains of Lexington and the sacred Hill of Bunker, almost destitute of arms and ammunition, immolating to Liberty the veteran troops of Britain. We next behold our yeomanry destitute of every thing but a sacred zeal for their country in the middle and southern states, braving and triumphing over climate, tempest, toil, suffering and hunger, defeating and making prisoners the finest troops of the most powerful nation in Europe. View with me the horrors of the prisonships and hospitals. See cruelty presiding over suffering virtue; your countrymen crowded in pestiferous hulks, their food bread overrun with vermin, their drink the noisome bilgewater, putrified and poisoned. Amidst this complicated misery, persons feeling one human weakness, might have been expected for a single cup of pure water to have renounced their country. But these Patriots, over whose memory we now ask the tear of pity, of gratitude and commiseration, altho' by renouncing a country engaged in a doubtful struggle, they might have secured themselves immediate relief from these sufferings, and restoration to liberty and the comforts of life—yet we see them revolting from a thought against their country as the blackest treason, and expiring in agonies rather than one moment to deny her. Can we look at such valor without pity and pride? Shall we lightly esteem what was purchased at so high a price? No—Sainted Spirits of our departed countrymen, we will not be insensible to the inestimable blessings your heroism has procured for us. Smile benignantly from the Throne of Valor on high on our country, rendered free by your exertion. Be its Guardian Angels still. Hover over this temple, consecrated to your valor. Protect our country from foreign foes and domestic conspirators. May its liberties be transmitted to the latest period of time. May that valor and love of liberty which have

distinguished you, our fathers, be conspicuous in the lives and actions of your sons.

After the invincible bravery of the heroes of the revolution had compelled Great Britain to acknowledge our Independence, an event memorable and singular in its nature occurred—Thirteen independent governments met by common consent and framed a federal government, by which each state gave to the common head some of the most essential branches of its sovereignty. This confederation proving inefficient, they again met, and formed a new government. After the establishment of the present Constitution, another event as singular in its nature, and as honorable to the people of this country, occurred. Washington, the father of our country, the hero who had led our armies through toil to victory, and had occupied that post at which jealousy and envy hurl all their weapons, was unanimously elected President.—Wonderful people ! In other nations trivial alterations in the government or the election of a chief magistrate have uniformly produced war, revolution and bloodshed.

After the first Presidential term Washington was again unanimously re-elected. Had he consented to stand a third time as candidate, he would unquestionably have been re-elected with the same unanimity, so convinced were the people of the purity of his motives, notwithstanding some measures had been adopted really prejudicial to the country, through the influence, the intrigues, and indefatigable exertions of executive advisers. But tired with the incessant intrigues which had in some instances eluded his detection and mislead him ; seeing the efforts to produce a jealousy of the Southern States, and convinced of the injury resulting from that treaty, to which he had with so much reluctance given his signature, he determined to withdraw from office. This determination, he announced in an Address to the people of the United States. In this invaluable legacy, with that magnanimity which disdains to defend its own measures, when convinced that those measures are injurious, he thus condemns this treaty : Have with foreign nations, "as little political connection as possible. So far

"as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith—Here let us stop." And with a prophetic voice he warned us of that unfounded jealousy of the Southern States which some of his cabinet Councillors were then exciting, and which has, this last year, jeopardized our union. He says,

"Indignantly frown on any attempt to alienate any portion of the country from the rest. You have in a common cause fought and triumphed together ; the independence and liberty you possess are the work of joint efforts and joint councils, of common dangers, sufferings and successes. Designing men may endeavor to excite a belief, that there is a real difference of local interests and views. One of the expedients of party to acquire influence within particular districts, is to misrepresent the opinions and aims of other districts. You cannot shield yourselves too much against the jealousies and heart burnings, which spring from those misrepresentations."

At the third election, the people were about equally divided between two of our most illustrious Citizens and Patriots. Mr. Adams, one of the candidates, had from the earliest period of the revolution, labored for its success ; he had likewise been the greatest part of his time during the contest, at different Courts of Europe to procure resources to carry on the war, and to secure such alliances as should insure its success ; he had also filled the office of Vice President during Washington's administration. Mr. Jefferson, the other candidate, had in the first stages of the revolution, in his native State and in Congress, rendered himself conspicuous as one of its ablest advocates. From his eloquent pen proceeded the Declaration of our Independence. He had also been employed in forming those treaties in which that Independence was recognized. From this last employment, he was immediately, on the election of Washington, recalled to the most important office in his gift, that of his principal Councillor. In that place he continued until discovered that the intrigues of his fellow councillors operating to the injury of his country. This election

terminated in the choice of Mr. Adams to the Presidency, and Mr. Jefferson to the Vice-Presidency. Under the administration of Mr. Adams, laws odious and unconstitutional were enacted. And an army raised without any ostensible object except the enforcement of these laws. The intrigues that had commenced in the former administration were now carried to their height. These measures, though they were contrary to the wishes of Mr. Adams, were carried into effect through the intrigues of the Cabinet, and their influence over Congress. That spirit that imputes to the President all the odium of the acts of Congress laid all these measures to Mr. Adams' account. Although he withdrew all confidence from the grand projector of these schemes, and dismissed from office his humble instruments, yet the confidence of the nation was shaken, and at the next election a majority declared for Mr. Jefferson.

After the election of Mr. Jefferson, Republicanism became practical. Men friendly to the Democratic Institutions of the country were called to the Cabinet. All odious and obnoxious measures disappeared, and the national debt was reduced in a most rapid manner.

So thoroughly convinced were the nation of the virtues and preeminent talents of this illustrious statesman, that on the expiration of the term for which he was elected, he was again called to the chair of state with an unanimity more surprizing than that which attended the election of the first President. For at this time calumny with her hundred tongues had attributed to him the blackest actions of which man is capable, and detraction had opened her flood-gates to overwhelm him. His election was likewise vehemently opposed by a party, powerful by their talents and wealth, and the aid of a foreign power. This party saw in the practical illustration of republicanism in his administration, the seal of fate to their schemes of erecting a monarchy or aristocracy. Notwithstanding these exertions, aided by the spirits of darkness, he was re-elected by a vote nearly unanimous. His second presidential term was a perfect counterpart to the first.—The fondest expectations of his friends were surpassed.

And a practical illustration of our constitution administered in its purity, was afforded to all future presidents and a standard erected by which the people can accurately judge the merits of all their future First Magistrates. Amongst the most illustrious actions of this administration is the purchase of Louisiana. By this our peace was secured, foreign collision avoided, and our union strengthened and confirmed. Another honorable measure of this administration was the abolition of the slave trade. The existence of slavery in this country is its great reproach. That slavery should be tolerated among freemen, is in the most eminent degree disgraceful. It fosters an aristocratic spirit in the slave holder, teaching him to see amongst children of one common parent several orders of beings—one created for dominion and another for servitude. Genius of Liberty! how long will this detestable bondage continue to disgrace our country and remain a standing contradiction to all our professions and institutions? We believe, fellow citizens, that it is not far distant when the children of those miserable Africans, who were torn by avarice from their countries, their families and friends, shall in the enjoyment of the liberties and institutions of this country, be amply retributed for the servitude of their parents. To the honor of our country, fellow-citizens, the importation of slaves has from its first settlement, been contrary to the views and principles of its inhabitants. Year after year, when we were colonists, have these states with Virginia at their head, petitioned parliament to terminate this pernicious traffic. But that spirit of fostering her colonies, to prey on their resources, which until 1808, prevented the parliament from abolishing the slave trade; did, till our colonial subjection, prevent our being freed from this national calamity. But a desire to abolish slavery is now almost universal in this country, and nothing has hitherto prevented it but the danger of changing at one stroke the situation of one sixth of the inhabitants from slavery to freedom. Jefferson, Weymouth, and Pinckney have devised a plan by which this evil may be gradually and safely cured. That this plan is a good one, and that it is

It yield to right, and that justice will be rendered to the
 as of Africa, we fondly anticipate. The last illustrious act
 Mr. Jefferson on which we shall comment, is the Embargo—
 the credit of this measure he is eminently entitled; for
 his express recommendation it was enacted. By this
 t, war was avoided, and our resources withdrawn from
 at novel and unprecedented scene of action which
 we now presents—A scene from which, those who
 he heretofore doubted, can now fully realize, that noth-
 g was to be reaped, and in entering on which, our re-
 sources were endangered. This measure was accompa-
 ed with two other effects, either of which would amply
 mpensate for its continuance for years. It turned our
 sources to internal improvements; it gave a spring to
 mestic manufactures, which they would not otherwise
 ve attained in half a century. We now have the
 indation laid for fabricating all that necessity or luxury
 a require, and are now for the first time really inde-
 ndent of foreign nations. It likewise served to break
 under the chain of British Influence and British Con-
 nion, from which source alone, we have more to fear
 ut all others combined. To conceal this Influence,
 British party in America are continually endeavour-
 g to excite the belief, that we are in eminent danger
 being conquered by France. If any of our citizens
 ve really so degenerated from the spirit of their ances-
 s as to tremble with the fear of being subdued by Napo-
 on, we sincerely pity them. Thirty five years since, when
 s country contained but two millions, when our gov-
 rors, our military officers, our judges, and a large body
 ories were opposed to us—when we were without
 vernment, destitute of arms, discipline and resources,
 fought and defeated the most powerful nation in Eu-
 oe. But now, many of our fellow citizens are trem-
 ng with the fear, that with a population of eight mil-
 ns, abundantly supplied with every resource, we should
 subdued by a nation separated from us by an ocean
 ee thousand miles wide, a nation who dare not to ven-
 re a single ship out of their ports; and who, could they
 nd one hundred thousand troops out of their country,

would be sure that all the nations they have subdued would rise in arms to recover their liberties. That such fears should prevail, perhaps none will be surprized, who are sensible of the effects of lunacy. We would if possible in charity to their fears waite them to that planet, under whose influence they appear to act. But here, forsooth, we fear they would discover the spectre of Napoleon, riding in balloons on the wings of the wind, in pursuit of them. Where we witness these fears, fellow citizens, let us pity that depression of spirits which gives them birth. But be cautious how we elect such men as our military officers or legislators. For the coward will surrender at discretion at the first summons, and "fear admitted into public councils betrays like treason."

As the Embargo, fellow citizens, we are well assured was repealed contrary to the wishes of Mr. Jefferson, its repeal should not be suffered to detract from the reputation of the first statesman our country has produced : against whom the bitterest venom of expiring faction is continually levelled with deadliest hate. For whilst the people of America are convinced that the administration of Mr. Jefferson was a practical illustration of a republican constitution, administered in its purity, the schemes of monarchy and aristocracy can never flourish. Our present President was elected by more than three fourths of all the votes, at a period when a rebellion of the blackest cast was organized, and levelling all its batteries against him. If we love our constitution, we must the statesman by whom it was drafted. No eulogium can add honor to the man who was the bosom friend, and the principal counsellor of the illustrious Jefferson. That they agreed perfectly in all the prominent acts of the administration, is equally honorable to both. It can be no tax on our confidence to trust to the wisdom of Mr. Madison ; for as the administration of Jefferson may be truly considered that of Madison, so that of Madison will, we trust, be that of Mr. Jefferson. Support, fellow citizens, your President with men who have no fear that upright conduct will produce insurrection, who are above foreign influence, and perfectly unwavering. With such sup-

port your country will not be disgraced, its administration will not be insulted, an inconsistent policy will not be pursued.

Having, fellow citizens, considered the revolution, the principles which led to it, the wisdom and valor that achieved it, and the constitution to which it gave birth through each administration, permit me on this political sabbath to present to your view, and impress on your minds, those maxims which are essential to the welfare of our republic ; those dangers which threaten its destruction, and the means of averting them.

Preserve the freedom of the press. Let it be as unshackled by restriction as the air. Suffer it not to be regulated by law. The moment that you attempt to regulate it, that moment you annihilate its freedom. Foster the means of education, vigilantly guard the formation of the infant mind. On the general diffusion of knowledge, depends the safety of the republic. Ignorance is easily deceived and led away, and the only way to perpetuate our institutions, is to make our citizens too enlightened to be deceived by the enemies of our freedom, and to preserve the press so free that the people may be aware of every approach of danger. Education is the watch tower from which alone we can surely observe the approach of the enemy ; and the press is the balefire by which we must spread the alarm. It is truly lamentable, fellow citizens, that almost every book and source of information furnished the rising generation, are the production of the vassals of monarchy, and of persons hostile to free governments. Is it surprising then that so many, even in the learned professions, whose knowledge of the world is generally entirely derived from books, should imbibe the prejudice for their favorite authors, and see, during their whole lives, nothing but the horrors of anarchy, in a free government ! Is it more surprising that the study of works, written by the devotees of monarchy, should produce an attachment to that form of government, than that early instruction in Christianity, Mahometanism or Paganism, should make Christians, Mahometans or Pagans ? It is of the most essential importance to the well being of the commonwealth, that

its youth should be instructed by persons friendly to the government of the country, and that the treatises they first learn should be written by republicans. The education of the female sex, though it is generally considered of little consequence, is undoubtedly of the utmost importance. We are induced to believe, that as females are excluded from administering the government, their education in a political point of view is unimportant. But no idea can be more erroneous; for from the mother the child undoubtedly receives his earliest impressions, those impressions which are most deeply fixed and most difficult to eradicate. Would you, my countrymen, perfect the education of your sons? Learn then that on the education of the mother materially depends that of her children. Would you have your children grow up in love with the institutions of our country? Instil then into the minds of those who must be the companions of their lives a similar affection. In the high day of youth, when the affections are most ardent, when love blinds us to every beauty but those of a mistress, when the fashions of her circle bear sovereign sway—at this period, political opinions are usually fixed, and undoubtedly frequently directed by the smiles of the fair, or the dictates of fashion. Be vigilant then, that in the minds of the fair, and in the circles of fashion, a love of liberty prevails. Let it not be said, to the disgrace of our country, **THAT IN ANY SECTION OF IT, AN ARDENT & UNDISGUISED ATTACHMENT TO ITS REPUBLICAN INSTITUTIONS ARE A SUFFICIENT EXCLUSION FROM ITS FASHIONABLE CIRCLES.**

Next to education and a free press, a well organised militia must be considered essential to the preservation of our freedom. Every country to protect its liberties must contain within itself an efficient defence; and that defence can be safely lodged in the body of the people alone. Navies and standing armies should never be supported by free governments, and every attempt to introduce them should be watched with the most guarded jealousy. Those institutions cannot be beneficial which thrive only on desolation and destruction. That class of men cannot be safe in a Republic whose interest is war,

and whose only hope of promotion is amidst the distresses and misery of their country, and the slaughter of their countrymen. The arbitrary discipline, to which the soldier is subject, breaks down every principle of freedom, and the authority, with which commanders are invested, nourishes an aristocratic spirit, and is too dangerous to be confided to any person except when the nation is actually at war. To prevent the necessity of recurring to navies and armies, avoid by all means engaging in war. Let it never be resorted to until every other measure has been exhausted, by which our rights and honor can be maintained. The success of any war is clouded with uncertainty ; that its progress is marked with misery to the victorious as well as the vanquished, all ages attest. It demoralizes the principles and subdues the noble sensibilities of our nature. It converts the man of principle into a knave, the philanthropist into a savage. Murder, lust, rapine, and all the train of furies are its constant attendants. Where prosperity and happiness reigned, it leaves desolation and destruction, misery and despair.—As we would avoid this pestilence we must determine to be entangled with no foreign alliance. If we have an ally, we must assist him in wars in which we have no interest. And if that ally is more powerful than ourselves, we must recollect that almost universally the weak ally is sacrificed to the powerful ; and that in making peace, the strong gains his terms by making sacrifices at the expence of the weak. As we would shun foreign alliance we must vigilantly guard ourselves against foreign partialities and antipathies. The moment we suffer ourselves to entertain partiality for a foreign government, that moment we are in danger of an alliance with the object of our partiality. The moment we entertain an antipathy against a foreign nation, we are in danger of allying ourselves with her enemies against her.

From no source is a free country in so much danger as from a part of its own citizens nourishing an ambition incompatible with its freedom, and striving to raise themselves on the ruins of its liberty. That this country con-

tains within it a party who entertain such views, is too evident to be doubted. The scenes of the two past years in connexion with former acts has completely developed the plan, and we may now rest assured that in every national pressure; whenever a measure which it is possible to misrepresent, shall be adopted, the same scenes will be acted over again, and unless they meet a spirited opposition, the standard of royalty will be unfurled against our republican banner.

At the period of the revolution, many Americans favoured the claims of Great Britain, many who denied the justice of her pretensions were opposed to the Declaration of Independence, and many who were in favour of our declaring ourselves independent, were at the same time disposed to erect a government similar to the British. After the revolution, these three parties became consolidated, and Hamilton, who they have ever since considered their oracle and leader, in the convention that adopted our constitution proposed a form of government similar to the British, except that our Monarch and Nobles were to be elective instead of hereditary. The several states were to be reduced to corporations, under the direction of governors appointed by the American monarch. Though Gen. Hamilton failed in his first attempt, his after exertions were crowned with considerable success. By his efforts, the liberty of the Press was regulated, and a law enacted, by which those foreigners, who having fled from monarchy, were loud in their commendation of republicanism, might be removed out of the country—Laws, odious and oppressive, were enacted in order to rouse opposition, and thus justify the raising a standing army, and with the further view of illustrating “the imbecility and anarchy of all democratic institutions.” These efforts being checked by the spirited conduct of Mr. Adams, and the election of Mr. Jefferson; a new system was adopted, by which the walls of our liberties might be gradually sapped, and every thing in preparation on the first opportunity to storm the citadel of our freedom. To effect this purpose, their presses were continually extolling the corrupt government of

England as a model of human perfection, and every opportunity was embraced to enlist our sympathies in her favor, and to encourage hatred, jealousy, fear and animosity of every nation at war with her. Hence their implacable animosity to France and her allies. Every nation in Europe has been eulogized or condemned in turn by this party, not for their wisdom or valor, not for their folly or submission. But every ally of England, since the revolution has been actuated by the purest motives, and every enemy by the most detestable. Those who yesterday were miserable monks, the ignorant slaves of superstition and tyranny, are to-day, by the alchymy of British alliance, converted into enlightened patriots, fighting for THEIR LIBERTIES. Another mean employed, was to paint in the same picture the beauties of the British government, the deformities of the government of France and her allies, the contemptible imbecility of our own government, and the gulph of anarchy on the brink of which we were tottering. Even at this day, fellow-citizens, the term Democrat, that designation in which we should glory and pride ourselves, is used by this party as an epithet of reproach ; and for this single reason, that it is not, like the term republican, susceptible of any meaning ; it can be translated but one way—the man who favors that government in which the people hold the reigns of power. Another mean was to destroy by a torrent of detraction those patriots whose influence would form the most powerful obstacle to these schemes, and to infuse into the people a jealousy of that section of country where these Patriots would be most influential. A further project, and one of their original projects, was to use Religion as a political engine, and by establishing a national clergy, to possess an influence sufficient to force down their political dogmas. So great was their success in this effort, that in the Constitution of Massachusetts, the foundation for this establishment is completely laid. Their mighty projects, having met with unconquerable opposition in the Southern section of the country, were at last changed to that of separating the Northern from the Southern States, and erecting over the Northern portion, that government, which they were compelled to abandon

over the Southern. Had Burr's plan of domination over the Southern section succeeded, their object had been easily effected. Hence the uncommon sympathy for this "much injured and persecuted man;" Hence that vehement zeal to "whiten into innocence," crimes that would incarnadine the ocean;—Hence their unceasing malice, and demon-like persecution of Gen. Wilkinson for developing this conspiracy. The proceedings of the two last years speak to the doubting, in the language of demonstration, the reality of this conspiracy. Great Britain had loaded us with every indignity:—This very party, in a moment of forgetfulness, had petitioned government to seek redress from Great Britain.—But upon the government's taking the only possible measure to obtain redress, they are denounced as sold to foreign power; the decisions of the judiciary are called in question in open town meetings by their most respectable orators: armed associations are raised to obstruct the laws, and the officers, who should aid in their execution, branded with infamy. Rebellion is organized in our legislature, and the people called upon to violate the laws, to forgive and league with a burglar and assassin, to wreak our vengeance on France for petty larceny and breach of contract. Ambassadors appointed with unlimited powers, and for unacknowledged purposes, with authority to act, not with all the states, but such as should favor these projects, which were not to be named. The Pulpit, instead of inculcating the doctrines of christianity, instead of teaching that charity which forgives the transgressions of a brother, and imputes his actions to the purest motives, was prostituted to circulate the most groundless slanders of the rulers of the people, and in torturing to the worst construction all their doings. For the truth of these facts we appeal, fellow citizens, to your own ears, for they have heard them; to your own eyes, for they have witnessed them.

Having pointed out, fellow citizens, those principles most essential to the preservation of our liberties, and those dangers with which they are threatened, we would now ask your attention to those acts of violence which the unjust policy of foreign nations has imposed on

our dearest rights, and which call loudly for vengeance on their authors. The history of our own country for these four years past, is a history of the utmost forbearance, and greatest exertions on our part to maintain an honorable neutrality ; and of insolence, indignity and injury on the part of England and France. England is at this moment completely governed by the sons of rapine and avarice, her navy and merchants. The great and extended influence she has over the merchants in this country by the credit her merchants give to our English traders, and the numberless throng of her agents, necessarily employed here, form such a band of opposition to every measure of our government, tending to restore freedom to the seas, as must afford serious ground of alarm to every real American. Especially when the unprincipled length to which the ministry have resorted to foster our domestic parties are considered ; official communications, which could emanate from no other source, having been first published in our gazettes, and complete evidence existing that their treatment to this country has continually varied with the strength of our opposition. But the greatest injury we have received at her hand, is the impressment and detention of our seamen on board her navy. Under the pretence of a right to the service of her citizens, a right strictly municipal, and of course to be exercised only within her own territories. Under this pretence she authorizes her petty navy officers to enter our ships and strip them of every man who looks or speaks like an Englishman. That this practice should be endured in a single instance, is extraordinary. But so great is her influence, that altho' at this moment thousands of our fellow citizens are detained by force on board her navy, to perish in the wars of her ambition, yet notwithstanding this, citizens of this country are to be found, so lost to all sense of that personal liberty, which is the pride and boast of freemen, that they justify her in this practice. Even in our Senate the year past, the leaders in our "patriotic proceedings" openly declared in the face of Heaven, that "they hoped she never would yield this right." Genius of Liberty! where slept thy thunders? Has commercial avarice driven thee from this last asylum of Liberty? England has,

in addition to this most insufferable practice, by fictitious blockades, nearly annihilated our commerce. She has wantonly and repeatedly violated our territorial sovereignty ; she has attacked a national ship in a most unprovoked manner ; several of her crew were murdered, several she yet detains ; she has regulated, licensed and tarrified our commerce, and perfidiously violated a national compact, and by proclamation invited our citizens to violate the laws of their country. For these accumulated injuries, our government sought redress ; for these unprovoked aggressions, through the medium of ambassadors, they have endeavoured to obtain recompence ; but our demands have been evaded with insolence, and our government personally insulted by a minister professedly sent to make atonement for indignity. This minister has been justified in his insolence by his government, and no terms are offered us but such as are incompatible with our independence. France has, in the face of a solemn treaty, perfidiously seized and condemned our vessels, invited into her ports ; she has, without the color of a pretence, burnt others on the ocean. Our demands of justice, she has answered with the most unqualified and unprovoked insolence. From these nations we have nothing to expect. The immense power of Napoleon, is fatal to all hopes of redress from policy or interest. His only inducements, to indemnify us for the injury we have sustained, must be those which result from a sense of justice and moral rectitude, of each of which, he has evinced a perfect destitution. From England we might expect that her interest would plead in our favour. But whilst, by the prostitution of our flag, she can enjoy the trade of the continent, her spirit of commercial monopoly forbids any change in our favour. This rivalry of injustice, this novel state of the world, required a new remedy. War with England would, in a great measure, interrupt our commerce. A war with France would annihilate it : for, excluded from the continent, our markets would be so few and so glutted, that our goods would not defray the expence of exportation. One measure was so obviously proper to be pursued at this period, that it was impossible to mistake it, that measure was an

Embargo, and this measure our government wisely adopted. Would to God it had not been repealed. But avarice, British influence, and unprincipled opposition, unfurled the banner of rebellion, and Congress too careful of the blood of the excitors of this opposition, abandoned the only measure of safety. The consequence is, that millions of our property are now irrevocably vested in the coffers of Napoleon. Let those who opposed the Embargo answer to their country for this immense sacrifice. Let those of them who personally suffer, acknowledge a providential act of justice to their unprincipled opposition. Be careful at your next election, fellow citizens, that men who have no fear of domestic insurrection, men who will support your President, are chosen. In such hands your country's honor may yet be preserved, and vengeance dealt to the perfidious violators of its rights, and its sovereignty.

So intimate is the connexion produced by commerce, that the poles and antipodes become neighbors, and the political affairs of nations the farthest removed from each other, are most intimately blended. Those nations with whom our connexion is most intimate, are England and France—the one irresistible on land, the other on the ocean. They sway between them the destinies of nations, and have proved themselves equally regardless of every obstacle that justice opposes to their schemes. Europe and India are speaking monuments that desolation marks their progress, and that millions are sacrificed to their projects of ambition and avarice. Denmark, Spain, and our own country, are incontrovertable demonstrations that the laws of nations, the rights of neutrals, and the dictates of justice, have no weight in their scale of ambition and aggrandizement. No government on earth, but our own, is so free as the English; although the popular branch, from the defective state of representation, and the facility, with which the ministry can purchase the elections of a majority, subservient to their purposes, exists in theory alone. The great extent of the English colonies, her jealousy of all commercial rivalry, and her power on the ocean, has entirely annihilated the freedom of the seas. France, to whose friendly aid we were in some

measure indebted for the success we this day commemorate, is governed by the most extraordinary character the world has produced. Although his power is absolute, yet the people of France are in a situation infinitely preferable to that, in which they were, under their old monarchy. The lands, having been taken from the clergy and nobility, who then held them almost exclusively, and distributed amongst the people. Besides this, the people have been relieved from many other oppressions. According to that rank, by which men are elevated, not for their virtue and philanthropy, not for subduing their passions and benefitting society, but for the extent of their political capacity, and the splendor of their conquests, Napoleon is the greatest man the earth has produced. Dazzled with the splendor of his conquests, we almost lose sight of the misery by which they are won. Nearly all the inhabitants of Europe move at his pleasure ; at his nod, kings reign, and the antient kingdoms of the earth are overturned. Pursuing a policy, which regards only the end, the fights of other nations form no obstacle to his ambition. By the schemes of the monarchs of England and France, their subjects are involved in misery and destruction. By the conscription in France, all families without distinction, are stripped of their sons, who are dragged from their kindred and homes, to desolate other nations, and perish amidst their ruins. The impressment in England, even more odious than the conscription of France, entails the same misery on its devoted victims. The conscription is universal, but the impress with an invidious distinction, while it immolates the seaman, leaves the excitements of war unaffected by its ravages.

The conquerors of our times have robbed war of half his terrors. The captured enemy, no longer contending, is treated with humanity ; the rights of individuals are generally respected, and private property seldom invaded. Civilization marks their progress ; literature, the fine arts and manufactures follow in their train. Superstition is dethroned, and oppressive orders annihilated. Turkey and Spain, which are soon destined to be conquered, and also Italy will be eminently benefitted by being subdued.

Nothing but the power of Napoleon could abolish the Inquisition, and the hords of monks, friars, nuns and nobles which prey on the vitals of Spain. Nothing but his power civilize the savage assassins, and despotic tyrants of Turkey. Nothing but his talents nerve into manhood the effeminate sons of Italy. The people of those countries will now begin to breathe free from the burdens and oppressions of ages. Holland and Switzerland are the only real sufferers.—We are convinced that the colossal power of France is doomed to set with the star of Napoleon; and we believe that that power, who from the darkest prospects educes the happiest results, will divide the powers on the continent so equally, as will tend to preserve their peace, and that we shall not as formerly continually witness powerful kingdoms invading and trampling on their feeble neighbours. Next to England and France, Russia commands our attention. Here the rights of man are so little regarded, that one subject holds eighty thousand slaves, and the lowest and most numerous class, like the trees of the forest, pass with the soil. From these scenes of war, of horror and misery, we turn with pleasure to the western world. Here, free from the burden of the mother country, the colonies of Spain are arousing from the slumbers of slavery, and awakening to independence. Though in a political view, the benefit of their success to this country is problematical, yet as philanthropists, we wish them success.

FELLOW-CITIZENS—From those nations whose subjects are employed as the mere instruments of tyrannny—where they are constrained to conform to fixed modes of worship—where the rights of man are disregarded, and he is degraded to the most abject servitude, and sacrificed to ambition—from these scenes we turn with delight to our own country. We live in an age enlightened with the meridian lustre of science, and with a religion of charity and love. Here, man exists free as he came from the hand of his creator, at liberty to worship according to the dictates of his own conscience, and to follow any pursuit his inclination may dictate. Here the highest station is attainable by the humblest citizen. Here, industry and talents are the only steps to promotion.

